THE MILITANT

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Legal Action Started to Free N.C. Negro Boys

DEC. 10—Conrad Lynn, an attorney acting for a group of interested people, today pleaded in court for a reduction of sentence for two North Carolina Negro boys—eight and nine year old, respectively—sentenced to reformatory because a white girl playmate had kissed one of them. Judge J. Hampton Price refused the plea. It was Price who, one month ago sentenced Hanover Thompson, 9, and Fuzzy Simpson, 8, to reform school until they are 21. Under North Carolina law, it is permissible to appeal for reduced sentence to the judge who handed down the original one. However, Mr. Lynn's goal is to free the boys.

Mr. Lynn was accompanied to the Union County courthouse in Monroe, N.C., by Robert F. Williams, President of Union County NAACP. Lynn, who is from New York, has served in many NAACP legal fights before. He is preparing further legal action in the case, including action in the federal courts if the boys can't win justice in the state courts.

In line with the racists' campaign of persecution of Monroe Negroes, reported in last week's Militant, Hanover Thompson's mother has been served with eviction papers from the house in which she has lived for ten years. This month, her landlord refused to take the rent money then had eviction papers served for non-payment of rent. Mrs. Thompson will probably be forced to move tomorrow.

It has been disclosed that at the original trial of the two boys, Judge Price conducted his own version of a "separate but equal" hearing. He first heard testimony from white parents and children. Then, because he "thought best" not to have accused and accusers present together, he dismissed the white witnesses and heard the Negro boys and their parents. There was thus no possibility for the accused confronting adverse witnesses and without this right no trial can be fair.

The two boys were held in the jail house for six days incommunicado. They allege that when they were arrested they were slapped and cuffed. They say they were cuffed again in the county jail.

Meanwhile, in another phase of racist persecution, Dr. A. E. Perry, Union County NAACP Vice-President, has been sentenced to three years imprisonment on a trumped-up abortion charge. He was convicted by an all-white jury. He is out on bail and plans to appeal.

For Labor Party?

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, said labor might have to form own party. He spoke at New York State AFL-CIO merger convention. (See editorial, this page.)

Seeks to Clear Sacco-Vanzetti

A resolve asking for a pardon-after-death for Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco was filed last week in the Massachusetts State House by Representative Alexander J. Cella. Sacco, a shoe factory worker and an anarchist, and Vanzetti, a fish peddler and a radical, were executed after a frame-up trial for the murder of two men in a hold-up 31 years ago. From 1920-1927 their case drew international attention. Their trial was followed by many appeals. Mr. Cella said he was filing his petition to correct "an historic injustice." He said that Sacco and Vanzetti "were the victims of the anti-foreigner hysteria of the times, the same hysteria that resulted in passage of restrictive immigration legislation."

Ala. Officials Block Voting-Rights Probe

Jobless Pay Is Less Than Third of Wages

Only 20 to 29% of lost wages are now recovered through unemployment insurance, Nelson H. Cruikshank, social security director for the AFL-CIO reported in a speech on Dec. 3 to the National Consumers League. "An insurance program that covers less than one-third of the loss incurred is pretty poor insurance," he added. The Consumers League is urging Congress to liberalize unemployment insurance.

Meanwhile economists predict that official unemployment figures will climb back to 4.7 million in mid-January from mid-October's 3.8 million. This will be due to regular mid-winter layoffs added to the lag in rehiring despite the industrial recovery from the recession. This lag is caused in large part by higher productivity brought about by technological improvements during the recession.

Furthermore, the pace of industrial recovery itself has slowed down. Steel's "industry-wide operating rate has stalled at around 75% of capacity in recent weeks after rising sharply from April lows," says the Dec. 8 Wall Street Journal.

Airline Strike

Flight engineers strike Eastern Airlines for higher pay. Ground-crew mechanics are also on strike. In past two months, about 30,000 mechanics have fought leading airlines over wages. Last week, mechanics at Trans-World Airlines won 44-cent increase over three-year span, 18 cents of which is retroactive to Oct. 1, 1957.

Meany Talks Tough on Politics

An Editorial

AFL-CIO president George Meany received an enthusiastic response from the 2,800 delegates and alternates to the merger convention of the New York State AFL and CIO on Dec. 9, when he warned Big Business that if it did not halt its anti-labor drive the union movement would be compelled to build a labor party.

Meany told the convention: "If labor has to go further than it can through its Committee on Political Education to make America a better place in which to work and live . . . we will take the next step if it is forced upon us. I have always said we do not want our own political party, but if we have to do that to lick the people who want to drag us back to the past, we will start our own political party and do a good job of it."

Meany's statement is designed to put pressure on the Republicans and Democrats. It is not a serious declaration of intention to get down to the business of building such a party. Only last Oct. 8, Meany asserted that for labor to build its own party and aim for political power "would mean the end of democracy in America." Over the years he had alternately condemned proposals for a labor party and tried to use the prospect of one as a "warning" to labor's enemies.

The significance of his present "tough" stand is that it comes on the heels of labor's impressive victory over the "right-to-scab" forces in five states and on the heels of the Democratic sweep that was hailed by Meany and other union tops as a major victory for labor. While not intended as such, his declaration is in fact an admission that the victory of the "pro-labor" Democrats has not disposed of the anti-labor offensive. While Meany tries to pin responsibility for projected anti-labor measures on the Republicans he obviously has little confidence that the Congressional Democratic majority can be relied on to block the attack on labor's rights.

At the same time, his "threat" of a labor party move was given substance by the performance of the unions acting independently of Democrats against "right-to-work."

Even while striking a more militant posture, Meany remains frightened of going too far. Trying to set the limits for a future labor party, he asserts: "If labor ever becomes so class conscious as to go out and work on the political field, we would hold the balance of power in elections."

But when the ranks of labor force the building of a labor party, it will be to supplant both capitalist parties in power and not to maneuver between them. The labor movement has the strength to defeat Big Business in the next election were it to form a labor party now. What blocks this course is the treacherous policy of the labor bureaucracy that keeps the working people tied to the capitalist two-party system.

The fact that Meany's hint at a possible breakaway was received so enthusiastically by secondary union officials, shows the growing basis for promoting the labor-party idea in the unions. A positive step in that direction was taken recently in Ohio, where a group of unionists recently formed a Labor Representation Committee to push the labor-party idea. (See story this page.) It is a good beginning, which militant unionists, particularly socialists, should duplicate wherever they can in other parts of the country.

Negroes Tell How Barred From Polls

By Lillian Kiezel

Dec. 10—An investigation by the Federal Civil Rights Commission into charges of Alabama Negroes that they have been denied the right to vote has met with open defiance by State Attorney General John Patterson, who is also governor-elect. Forty-four witnesses testified at the Commission's first hearing sessions. Most of them were Negroes who told of having been denied certification to vote. The Commission's probe began in Montgomery, Dec. 8.

At Patterson's instigation, Alabama judges and registrars have deliberately withheld voter registration records from the Commission, which is now seeking court action against the officials. Meanwhile the hearing has been recessed indefinitely.

The Committee functions under the all-but-toothless 1957 Civil Rights Act. It is headed by Dr. John Hannah, and is composed of five whites and one Negro. In his opening statement, Dr. Hannah stated that the Commission is merely a fact-finding body responsible to Congress and the President.

'LITERACY' TEST

The first witness was William P. Mitchell, secretary of the Tuskegee Civic Association which has pressed a campaign to obtain full voting rights for Negroes. **Mr. Mitchell testified that for the years 1956 through 1958 (October), a total of 1,585 Negroes had sought registration. Of this number only 510 were certified. He told about tedious, time-consuming procedures to determine whether Negroes can "read and write" under state law.**

Most of the charges of disfranchisement were made by residents of Macon Country, where Negroes outnumber whites. Complaining witnesses included faculty members of Tuskegee Institute—some with Ph.D. degrees—whose right to vote was denied on "literacy" grounds. Other witnesses included ministers and nurses at the huge Veterans Administration hospital at Tuskegee. Many of them had been registered to vote in the North.

Further testimony disclosed that there are no Negroes registered in either Lowndes or Wilcox Counties. Four are registered in Bullock, 125 in Dallas and 1110 in Macon (Tuskegee). All are counties with a large percentage of Negro population.

Militant Fund Drive At 88%; 1 Week Left

By George Lavan
National Fund Drive Director

DEC. 9 — With one more week to go to complete the 30th Anniversary Militant Fund the scoreboard shows that 88% of the amount pledged has been paid. This is 8% below what it should be at this point in the fund campaign. THE FINAL SCOREBOARD WILL APPEAR IN THE DECEMBER 22 ISSUE OF THE MILITANT. Groups of Militant supporters who have fallen behind in their pledge payments have informed us that they are making extraordinary efforts to pay up in full and on time.

New York is holding its annual Christmas bazaar on Dec. 13, the proceeds to go to the Militant fund. **Seattle writes:** "Please be assured that our full amount will be in by the end of the drive." From **San Diego** we hear: "Our next letter, which will reach you before the 15th, will have our final payment."

Twin Cities is planning a fund raising affair in a home-stretch effort to fulfill their quota, and fund director F. C. writes: "We are having our 30th Anniversary celebration on the 13th of December. We still have a sizeable deficit to make up but will do our very darnedest to make it." **Detroit** is also having a special affair to raise their fund quota. Fund director Dotty writes: "We are having an Anniversary affair on Dec. 13th so you can be assured that Detroit will be paid up in full and on time." **Los Angeles** sends a check for $598.22 and informs us that they "hope to send another following the bazaar for a sum almost as large or larger."

Credit for the best performance in the 30th Anniversary Militant fund drive goes to **Oakland-Berkeley** which tops the list with 142% oversubscription of their quota. And that's not all! Our East Bay fund director writes: "Our final fund mailing to wind up the Anniversary drive may be right at deadline and postmarked Dec. 15 or 16. I trust that your books will be kept open long enough to receive such last minute payments and record them in the final reckoning in the Militant scoreboard."

We can assure our East Bay supporters and anyone else concerned that our books will be kept open until the final copy deadline for the next issue of the Militant, which will be Wednesday, December 17. All payments must be in by that date to be recorded in the final scoreboard.

Strike Halts Delivery of N.Y. Papers

NEW YORK, Dec. 11 — New York newsstands have been without the city's nine major daily papers for the last two days as a result of a strike by 2,000 truck drivers and other members of the Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union. The men were on strike for four hours Monday until their negotiating committee arrived at a contract renewal agreement with the publishers association. On Tuesday afternoon, the men heard the terms of the proposed settlement and voted to walk out again. The next negotiating meeting is scheduled for tomorrow and the millions of dollars being lost daily by the papers in department store Christmas advertising indicates good prospects for a settlement.

All of the papers have maintained publication schedules with token sales in front of their offices except the Daily News which was forced to suspend publication last night. Yesterday afternoon four members of the International Typographical Union were fired by the News for refusing to cross the deliverers' picketline. The rest of the printers then voted to stay out until the four were reinstated. Francis Barrett, president of Local Six, ITU, reportedly tried to lead the men back through the picketline but they unanimously refused to follow.

The original terms accepted by the negotiating committee of the deliverers union included a two-step $7 raise instead of the $10 originally demanded. Also rejected by the publishers were demands for a 35-hour week, sick leave, increase in paid holidays from eight to 12, and reduction of newspaper bundle weights from 53 pounds to 40.

Ohio Unionists Form Group To Advocate a Labor Party

Prominent Ohio unionists have established a Labor Representation Committee to lay the groundwork for building a labor party in the U.S. The action was reported in the December issue of MESA Educator, paper of the 50,000-member Mechanics Educational Society of America, AFL-CIO. The union has 20,000 members in the Cleveland area. According to MESA Educator, formation of the Labor Representation Committee stems from the experience in defeating a "Right-to-Work" initiative in the Nov. 4 elections. The paper gives editorial support to the new group. Following are excerpts from the Educator's editorial:

"The experience gained and the lessons learned by organized labor of Ohio in its victorious fight to defeat R-T-W could be used to build the beginning of a Labor Party. The idea was expressed at the Cleveland area meeting, November 7, by Sam Pollock, president of Cleveland Local 427, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO, who was guest speaker.

"Pointing up the fact that the industrial owning class has been successful in containing labor by the use of Taft-Hartley, Pollock said, they were now determined to prevent labor's potential political power from being used by weakening the union movement with "right-to-work" laws.

"Not because of, but despite labor's top brass, organized labor in Ohio was forced to set up its own class organization—United Organized Labor of Ohio — which was independent of both capitalist parties and the AFL-CIO political arm, COPE.

SOLIDARITY SHOWN

"UOLO set in motion a tremendous release of working class solidarity that has not been witnessed or felt for many decades in this state. It was truly a 'grass roots movement' and November 4 gave proof positive of this when R-T-W was crushed by a two-to-one vote.

"The experience gained from the R-T-W fight showed that labor could unite on issues and that it could win the support of a substantial segment of the community. It emphasized that labor did not need—in fact in this instance could not rely on—its so-called political friends. The issue cut through both parties and exposed both as not being 'friends of labor.' O'Neill, Republican candidate for governor, openly supported 'right-to-work' while DiSalle, Demo-

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Which Side in the Unions Are You On?

By Murry Weiss

The coalition of socialist forces represented by the Independent-Socialist Party in the New York 1958 elections took shape in opposition to the policies of the Communist Party and Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. These two parties advocated, each in its own way and each for its own reasons, a similar policy—namely, that socialist political action must be restricted to the framework of the capitalist two-party system and that socialists must "work with the labor movement within the Democratic Party."

The Independent - Socialist Party, like similar formations in Washington, California and Illinois, and the Socialist Workers Party in Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Minnesota and Wisconsin, contended that it was the elementary duty of all socialists in the 1958 elections to offer a ballot challenge to the two parties of capitalism.

Thus the socialist movement was deeply divided on the question of electoral policy in 1958 and this division led to the sharpest clash in action.

SLANDER AND SABOTAGE

While the ISP fought a historic battle to get on the ballot and overcome the opposition of the entrenched De Sapio Tammany machine, the Worker and the Communist Party directed a campaign of denunciation and slander against the movement and tried its best to prevent the petition drive from gaining a victory. The Communist Party also actively opposed the attempt of the ISP to gain a large socialist vote. **The simple fact that the ISP was the only ticket on the state ballot which opposed the bi-partisan cold-war policy, the witch hunt and the capitalist recession did not cut any ice with the CP leadership. They obviously considered radical votes for the cold-war candidate Harriman preferable to the socialist ticket gaining 50,000 votes and thereby qualifying as a new socialist electoral party in the state of New York.**

The Social Democrats also maintained a steady sniping attack on the ISP throughout the petition drive and repeatedly threatened legal action aimed at disqualifying the petition effort. And like the Communist Party, the Social Democrats advised the radical workers to vote for the candidates of the ruling class rather than the only socialist ticket on the ballot.

We cite these known facts not simply to express indignation, although indignation is certainly in order. It is more important, however, to understand that the terrible breach of elementary socialist and working class solidarity was committed by these parties because of the extent to which their political lines have become enmeshed with those of the labor bureaucracy's.

'STAY WITH LABOR'

Both the Communist Party and Social Democratic leadership explain their conduct with the argument that socialists must not isolate themselves from the labor movement. **Socialists, they say, must stay with the labor movement and work for socialist objectives and since the labor movement is in the Democratic Party—that's the place for socialists. Above all, they argue, socialists should not put up independent candidates in opposition to the "labor endorsed" candidates of the capitalist parties.**

The Social Democrats for their part are so fearful of being accused of this "crime" that they took special pains to reassure the labor officials on this point at the time of the merger of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation in 1957. At the SP-SDF merger convention the late Louis P. Goldberg, who became Chairman of the SP-SDF, said: "The expression of fear in some corners that a new socialist party would interfere with labor's political action is unfounded. Carrying out our document on political action, we will not nominate for public office candidates in opposition to those endorsed by the legitimate labor movement."

PARASITE

The Communist Party has made similar pledges and despite many important differences it has with the SP-SDF, the argument it uses to support this policy is much the same—we must stay with the "labor movement" and not become isolated.

The basic fallacy contained in this argument is not hard to detect. It glosses over the contradictory elements involved in the term "labor movement." Like all phenomena in a capitalist society torn by class struggle, the labor movement is not a harmonious entity. Within the labor movement we have the working class, or rather its organized section. **But we also have the labor bureaucracy which developed as a parasite on the labor movement. This bureaucracy enjoys economic and social privileges that it is ready to defend, often with knife in hand, against any encroachments from below. Through a long historic process this bureaucracy has come to function as a capitalist-minded police guard over the labor movement rather than as a representative of the working class in struggle against capitalism.**

The labor bureaucracy has not only lost its capacity to lead

(Continued on Page 3)

'We Began with Best Idea in the World'

The following are major excerpts from a speech by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, at a meeting in Los Angeles, Nov. 15 celebrating the 30th Anniversary of the Militant.

. . . . As has been announced and referred to by other speakers, we celebrate tonight the joint anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the founding of the Militant. It was not designed that way but it turned out that both these events occurred in the month of November. Thirty years ago, our struggle for the ideas of the Russian Opposition had come to a head, resulting in our expulsion from the Communist Party on October 25, 1928. That imposed upon us the necessity of starting our own paper and the first issue was dated in November.

The timing was accidental; nevertheless, I think the coincidence was significant and deeply symbolic. The Militant and the Russian Revolution have been tied together all the time. The Militant from its first issue up to the latest one to come off the press has been the champion of the Russian Revolution and the advocate of its extension throughout the world. That has been the central meaning of every expression of revolutionary socialism in every part of the world since November 1917.

So the Militant began as the champion of the Russian Revolution. It began with a big idea —the biggest and best idea in the world — the idea of the Russian Revolution and its extension to all other countries including the United States. That idea is still the chart not only for the Militant, not only for us, for the Socialist Workers party, but for the future course of all humanity on this planet.

Started on IWW Paper

Now I have worked on radical revolutionary papers for 45 years. The first one was Solidarity, the Eastern organ of the IWW which was published in New Castle, Pa., in the early days. After the 1912 convention of the IWW, I showed up in New Castle to visit with the staff and see what was going on. I didn't hitch-hike there. I went by train. I got off in the freight yards with a pal of mine and we walked down to the Solidarity office and said hello to the boys who worked there. They decided I should stay and work on the paper for a while.

I often recall that paper of the IWW as an example of how much the pioneers of our movement did with so little. Solidarity was printed in a tiny shop by one editor who spent three days a week at the type case. We had a press but no linotype and so it was set by hand. The other two members of the staff were a fellow named Bill Wallgast and myself. We did the press work and the mailing and the clerical work. The three of us got out a paper once a week. That was common in the early radical movement.

In 1919, I helped in starting a local paper in Kansas City, Missouri. During the war, the first world war that was, the movement was under great persecution. When we began to gather the scattered forces together in a semi-underground manner, especially after the Russian Revolution, the only thing we could think of to serve notice that we were still for socialism was to start a paper. With the resources of a single local organization in Kansas City, we actually started a weekly paper and kept the thing going for six months.

The first editor of the Workers World was Earl Browder. After the paper had been going for a couple of months he and his brothers were sent to Leavenworth penitentiary because of their opposition to the war, and I became the editor and business manager.

At that time, the coal miners launched a general strike. President Woodrow Wilson demanded it be called off and got a judge to issue an injunction against it. John L. Lewis, who was then the newly crowned president of the United Mine Workers, announced that we can't fight against the government and called off the strike everywhere except in the Kansas City coal fields.

One reason why the strike was not called off there was because we were down in the coal fields with thousands of copies of The Workers World advocating continuation of the struggle.

The Cleveland Toiler

I was arrested and indicted on the accusation of conspiring to interfere with the production of a war-time necessity—namely, bituminous coal. This was a year and a half after the war was over, but the war-time Lever act had not yet been repealed. I was thrown into jail and the paper then had no staff.

The Workers World was forced to discontinue, but it had served a certain purpose while it lasted. It gave us a little experience that was of use later. The fact that I had edited this paper was known to the national leadership of the newly formed Communist Party, and in 1920 when I had been elected to the Central Committee, I was appointed to go to Cleveland, Ohio, to become editor of the Daily Worker—that is, the paper that later became the Daily Worker. This was the Cleveland Toiler.

The Cleveland Toiler was controlled by the state executive committee of the Socialist Party in Ohio, a left-wing group which had joined the Communist Labor Party. After I had edited the Toiler for about six months in Cleveland, we moved the paper to New York because it was the only legal paper we had in the country. The official organ, the Communist, and everything else had been proscribed.

We eventually changed the name of the Cleveland Toiler to the New York Toiler and then to the New York Weekly Worker. The New York Weekly Worker, which was still operating on the same mailing permit, eventually became the Daily Worker published in Chicago; so that by a sort of remote association you can say that I am one of the former editors of the Daily Worker—for whatever that may be worth.

I was in Minneapolis during the 1934 strike—the strike that made Minneapolis a union town. So far as I know this was the only long-drawn-out strike in which the union published a daily paper throughout. We Trotskyists did that in Minneapolis. The daily paper was called the Organizer and I served as its policy editor.

During the time we were in the Socialist Party, Rose and I came out to California. We hadn't been here more than about two months when we moved up to San Francisco where a big maritime strike was brewing and there was sentiment to increase socialist activity. The state executive committee of the California Socialist Party, agreed to publish a weekly paper in San Francisco and I was appointed editor of that paper. Its name was Labor Action. That is not the same Labor Action that some of you may have run across later. . . .

This weekly lasted until early in the spring of 1937 when the Socialist Party leadership decided that we hadn't become Social Democrats after all. They didn't want Trotskyists in their organization and they prepared to expel us. That ended the Labor Action of San Francisco.

Shortly thereafter it was reborn in the form of the Socialist Appeal in New York. A little later, the Socialist Appeal changed its name to the Militant.

So that's about the sum and substance of my participation in labor journals as an editor. The one thing that I am proudest of is the fact that I was the founding editor of the Militant and have always been an off-and-on contributor to its columns; and it is about the Militant, for which I have the most affection, that I want to speak.

DURING THE GERMAN CRISIS THE MILITANT APPEARS 3 TIMES A WEEK!

THE MILITANT

Official Organ of The Communist League of America (Opposition)

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1933

Hitler Is Consolidating the Power of Fascism In Germany!

Whoever Blocks the Workers' United Front Is a Traitor!

Hitler Threat to Soviet Union | Nazis Murder | Fascism: Italian and Germ

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 1, 1933

For the United Defense against Hitlerism!

A Talk with the Socialist Workers by Leon Trotsky

In early 1933, ringing appeals of Leon Trotsky to the German working class parties and to the international working class to unite in struggle against Hitler and his storm-troopers were history-making headlines in the Militant. Two typical headlines of the period are shown.

Militant Is Activism Plus

The name was deliberately designed to express its distinctive character. It is not so commonly used nowadays as it was in the earlier movement. "Militant" was the word for the active, fighting member of the various radical organizations—IWW militants, Socialist Party militants, anarchist militants. Nowadays they have a much weaker word, I think, for that. They say "activists." Those that are always working for the organization. But in the old days we called these people the militants, which is activism plus.

We decided that by calling our paper the Militant, this would indicate our intention of appealing directly to the vanguard, to the cadre people, to the militants—a paper of and for the vanguard.

We did not pretend, when we started the Militant, that we were producing a great mass paper, simplifying everything to the lowest common denominator. On the contrary, our paper was devoted to the education and re-education of the vanguard militants of the Communist movement. It was primarily a cadre paper, the educator and guide of the cadres. The people who hold the party together and keep it going in all kinds of weather. The people that never quit. Who never float down the stream like dead fish but swim against the current no matter how rough it may be. That is the meaning of "militant" and that was the meaning of the paper we started to represent such people.

We had learned a good deal by then, although we have learned a great deal more since, and were applying something from Lenin's program for Iskra. Many of you have read in his great pamphlet, What Is To Be Done, what he considered to be the role of a national paper. As Lenin conceived it, the role of a revolutionary paper is to function not merely as an agitator dealing with protest issues, not merely as a propagandist concerned with educating people and dealing with questions of theory and politics, but as the best organizer of the party.

That was the way we conceived our Militant and for that reason the Militant was never and never could be a personal organ. It broke entirely with the earlier socialist tradition in this country in which the most widely circulated press, the most influential press, was a privately owned and privately conducted enterprise.

The Appeal to Reason

You have heard many good things about the Appeal to Reason, the paper published in Girard, Kansas, which had at one time as high as a half million circulation and which undoubtedly did a great deal to popularize the general idea of socialism and the struggle against capitalism and against capitalist wars. But when the war broke out in 1917, the proprietors of the Appeal to Reason, this privately owned paper, decided that they did not want to get in conflict with the government. They came out in support of the war. And all the readers and supporters who believed in the paper and trusted it, who had built its tremendous circulation, were just left helpless, completely incapable of exerting any influence on the policy of the paper. Now the Militant was never in that tradition. . . .

* * *

From its first issue the Militant was an internationalist paper. It has always been concerned with the great problems of the world and has done all it could to help the world movement of revolutionary socialism. It was through the Militant—and in this we take special pride—that the message of the Russian Opposition was carried to all corners of the world and even penetrated the Soviet Union itself. . . .

In Europe, Latin America and Africa, Ceylon, India, China, and many other parts of the world the message of the Militant sparked and inspired the organization of the first cadres of the International Left Opposition so that when Trotsky, six months later, was deported to Turkey, he found a forum all ready for him in the Militant and groups and organizations springing up throughout the world very largely as the result of the preliminary message of the Militant.

Among the countries I neglected to mention was England. The English Trotskyist movement had its origin in copies of the Militant that a few members of the Communist Party got hold of in 1928-29. The Militant inspired the organization of new cadres everywhere and was recognized in the early days by Trotsky and by others as the foremost journal of the cause of the International Left Opposition. . . .

On the national field the Militant has represented and protected the continuity of the uncorrupted revolutionary movement of the past. The Militant has always strictly defended and incorporated into its own teachings much of the early Communist Party tradition in this country—and at that time it was a real CP—and of the older movement of Debs and Haywood which helped to prepare the way. In the unions you all know that the Militant has always stood for militant action, for class-struggle policies, for trade-union democracy, for the rank and file against the privileged bureaucrats, for the rights of the Negro people every day and on every occasion without any compromise.

On the political field, the Militant has always stood for independent political action and applies that doctrine in practice at every opportunity. If we can get anyone to cooperate with us, the party, small as it is, has tried to put up socialist candidates just to keep the idea of socialism alive and to show that even a small group that takes its socialism seriously can do things considered impossible by large bodies who are less serious.

The Militant fought for all these basic lines — which are ABC for anyone worthy of the name socialist—all these policies which are not new, very old in fact, but still good and far better than the new counterfeits. We have been swimming against the stream all the time.

Destruction of a Tradition

As the chairman, Warde, mentioned, in the old days anyone calling himself a socialist wouldn't even dare to suggest that you campaign for or support a candidate of a capitalist political party; but in the last twenty-odd years we have seen a different course pursued by the majority. The net result of this trifling with principle, of this class collaboration in politics was a demoralized radical movement. The destruction of socialist tradition and even the habit of independent socialist political action.

That took time to bring about and it had to be done stealthily and a step at a time. It began in 1936. Prior to then it was ABC for the Socialists, or the Communists, to nominate their own candidates and to use electoral campaigns and the expanded audience they provide to popularize the ideas of socialism and communism. But in 1936 the right-wing socialists in New York and the Communist Party of Browder decided that these old-fashioned ideas were out of date; that it would be much smarter and much slicker to join the majority.

That was the year when Browder campaigned for President on the ticket of the Communist Party. He wouldn't have dared then to advocate not running their own ticket; so they compromised with the rank and file who wanted the CP to have its own campaign and they nominated Browder and Ford for President.

What do you think was their chief campaign slogan? Defeat Landon, at all costs!

So they campaigned all over the country to beat Landon at all costs with the result that ninety per cent of the people under their influence voted for Roosevelt.

In New York the radical workers, especially the great mass of needle-trade workers had the habit year after year of always voting for the socialist ticket. To get around this inconvenient habit and tradition, the needle-trade union bureaucrats, in an undercover deal with Socialist and Communist Party leaders, as was later revealed, worked out a clever scheme. **They couldn't ask the socialist-minded New York workers to jump over and vote straight Democrat. But they could ask them to vote for something new — a labor party. So they said, Let's form another party: call it the American Labor Party: and put just one little catch in it: that the ALP endorse the Democratic ticket.**

'Sisters Under the Skin'

Through this little stratagem they mobilized about half a million votes that normally would have been Socialist or Communist. That was the beginning of the break in the habit and the tradition of voting for socialism or communism. The Communist union bureaucrats and the Socialist union bureaucrats got together to put this over. In the showdown they really worked very close together. You know, as Kipling said about the Colonel's Lady and Judy O'Grady, they're really sisters under the skin. Later on, there was a split in the ALP, and a section of the New York garment-trade bureaucrats formed the Liberal Party, which continued the same game.

The net result of this kind of betrayal of principle was that in the elections in New York this year, that great mass of people, most of them pretty old by now, who had been raised in the socialist and communist tradition, found themselves faced with the alternative of voting either for Harriman or for Rockefeller. And that's what they did.

I don't know what conclusions they are going to draw from it now because this kind of shenanigans is based on the theory that you've got to be with the masses. You've got to be with the majority. They don't know that this is just a variaton of the old unprincipled ward-heeler politics that says if you can't beat 'em, join 'em.

They mobilized to vote for Harriman but it turned out that Rockefeller got elected. Rockefeller couldn't have gotten elected unless he won working-class votes. New York is an industrial state and the workers can decide any election they see fit to. So if a large percentage of workers and the Negro people voted for Rockefeller, it looks to me like they might have to revise their prescription and say we made a sectarian error. We voted for Harriman who's in the minority and we should have been with Rockefeller who's in the majority. If we keep on going that way, you know, eventually we may arrive at socialism. . . .

I think the Independent-Socialist ticket in New York this year made a good showing considering the miseducation that had gone before. I think that the ticket made a possible beginning in reviving the tradition of socialist political action.

The Militant did its share, perhaps a little more than its share in this united effort and we can be proud of our paper for that. To promote the idea of independent political action, that simple issue in itself, is the greatest possible service to the cause of reviving socialism in this country.

All I have said about the Militant so far is in its praise. But that is not the complete story. There have been criticisms of the paper and I will mention three of them that have been made over the years.

One criticism was that it was against imperialist war, not only the second world war but also the Korean war. And that it was a mistake to isolate itself this way from the great majority.

The second criticism is that it has been sectarian in general.

The third, and this is the loudest criticism I have heard lately — although in fact I have been hearing it for years, for thirty years—that the Militant told the truth about Stalinism before the time was right, before Khrushchev gave permission.

The first criticism, that we were against the war, is correct. We admit it. We are guilty. The Militant had great difficulties with the Post Office department and came within an inch of having its mailing rights taken away; a number of its issues were suppressed. The editors of the Militant were sent to prison for opposing the war. We can't get around that. We might as well admit it. But we should add that we will do the same thing again, if need be. We are not going to support imperialist war on any pretext whatever. **You can't fight capitalism in peace, support it in war, and hope to take up the struggle in peace again. No, you have to fight imperialism and capitalism all the time. That is a matter of principle.**

The second criticism, that we are sectarian, that the Militant has been a sectarian paper, is I think a misunderstanding. We are not sectarian at all. Any time we have a chance to participate with others in class-struggle action we are always ready to join. The most recent example of that is the Independent-Socialist ticket in New York. We didn't hesitate to agree with socialists of different points of view and to make organizational concessions about the candidates and a number of other things on the single provision that they run on a socialist platform.

I don't think that is sectarian.

No Privileged Bureaucracy

Now as to the third criticism, that we criticized Stalinism before the time was ripe. That is wrong; they are mistaken. The time is always ripe to tell the truth. It is not always popular, as we have learned. The Militant had to pay for the privilege and we have to help it pay for this privilege in the future. . . .

Now I believe that anything that comes from the Militant staff is entitled to a respectful hearing from all of us because our staff all down through the years has never been a privileged bureaucracy. Their only privilege has been to do more and give more and to take less for themselves than others, and that is true of the present staff responsible for the Militant today.

I think they are worthy of the great tradition that they are carrying on and that we owe them our solidarity. What are we here for? I don't mean here in this room. What are we **here** for? In this poignant book on sale now, The Diary in Exile, 1935, there is a part where Trotsky writes down his most intimate thoughts—about growing old and his bad health and having to continue the work because of the need to prepare the succession.

We and all like-minded people all over the world are that succession, which Trotsky prepared when he was too old and tired to do any more but which he still persisted in doing as long as he could because that was the duty imposed upon him by destiny. He said that for the first time in his life he felt indispensable, because there was no one else to prepare the succession and he had to do it.

And we in turn, whom Trotsky prepared, are confronted with the same duty right now. We have to keep going as long as we can under any circumstances, preparing our own succession so that the continuity of our movement will not be broken, so that it shall grow with new life and new blood.

In this we can't do without the Militant. That is the long and short of it. The Militant is our means and our weapon. . . .

We, whose lives were made over by the Militant; we, who call on the Militant to change the lives of others, have no choice but to make a special effort once again. What else can we do when the call comes for our solidarity and support?

Old Frederick Engels in the hard and bitter time of the movement of his day wrote to an old comrade, an old guard of the Communist League, referring to the difficulties and troubles they were in and of the good comrades who had fallen by the wayside, and he said, "What shall we do?" And Engels answered, "What can we do? We stand in the breach. That is what we are here for."

World Events

THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT has nationalized all Dutch banks, plantations, railways, and business firms. The Associated Press, Dec. 4, reports: "Parliament ordered expropriated all Dutch properties that the Netherlands claims are worth more than $1,189,000,000. The new nationalization bill left compensation for the properties to future legislation and to the courts." In 1957, the Indonesian government sought to force the Dutch to acquiesce in its demands by token seizures of some industries. However, Indonesian workers took it from there and began seizing all industries. Thus, last December, the government took over virtually all Dutch-owned properties although management and profits remained in Dutch hands.

* * *

CUBAN DICTATOR BATISTA suspended the constitutional guarantees of the Cuban people for another forty-five days. Using the Castro rebellion as an excuse Batista has kept constitutional rights suspended, except for a few weeks, since Dec. 1956. The suspension means censorship of press and radio. Rights of free speech, assembly and habeas corpus are annulled. Batista has also asked the Cuban Congress to declare a state of emergency which would give him unlimited powers.

* * *

FORMER ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY members recently held a Congress in Rome and founded the Alleanza Socialista (Socialist Alliance). Walter Lucas, special correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, reports that this meeting of 400 delegates, who claimed to represent hundreds of thousands of intellectuals and workers, was largely the result of the efforts of ex-Communist Senator Eugenio Reale. Lucas reports: ". . . . the first article of the platform was a repudiation of the idea of party dictatorship. Then followed affirmation that socialism and liberty were inseparable terms and that democracy was both a method and way of life as well as an end." Lucas says that Alleanza Socialista is determined "to work for the uniting of all socialists in one party, founded on the ideals of socialism and democracy."

* * *

THIS WEEK'S VENEZUELAN ELECTIONS were the first since a revolution ousted dictator Marcos Perez Jiminez ten months ago. The three presidential candidates, who had virtually the same identical program were (1) Rear Admiral Wolfgang Larrazabal, independent candidate of the Republican Democratic Union, who was a high-ranking military man under Jiminez; (2) Romulo Betancourt, of the Democratic Action party; (3) Dr. Rafael Caldera, of the more moderate Christian Socialist Party, who was termed "a candidate of the rich." Out of this selection the Venezuelan Communist Party decided to nominate Larrazabal on their ticket although they ran independent candidates for Congress from Caracas. He accepted their nomination.

* * *

A COMPARATIVE WAGE STUDY in five European countries and Great Britain by the Industrial Association of Lombardy is reported in Dec. 6 Business Week. The take-home pay of semi-skilled workers in dollars per hour is: Italy, 64c; France, 78c; Germany, 59c; Belgium, 76c; Switzerland, 81c; Great Britain, 84c; Take-home pay for skilled workers: Italy, 73c; France, 88c; Germany, 65c; Belgium, 89c; Switzerland, 88c; Great Britain, 98c.

* * *

FIVE DAYS AFTER THE FRENCH ELECTIONS in which the Gaullists won a smashing victory in the Assembly, Jacques Soustelle (Minister of Information and leader of the Union of the New Republic) had police seize Mendes-France's newspaper, L'Express. The New York Post (Dec. 5) reported: "The offending paragraph in L'Express said that during and just after Soustelle's tenure as Governor General of Algeria some 22,000 Moslems had been arrested and 3,000 of these 'became cadavers'." The seizure order was rescinded after the newspaper promised to publish the paper without this article.

TAX JUGGLING

If you would like to eliminate your corporation's income tax completely you should send $9 to the Kiplinger Letter for details. According to this financial tip sheet the Technical Amendments and Excise Tax Acts, passed by the last Congress make it possible for corporations, by manipulating their organizational set-up, "to take full advantage of depreciation provisions . . . then switch to a different organizational set-up for the long pull."

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Pardon for Winston, Green

The U.S. Board of Parole's denial of the application of Henry Winston and Gil Green is additional proof that the witch hunt is far from over. These two Smith Act victims have served over a third of their sentences, have good behavior records and have furnished the Parole Board with all the assurances and sponsors in their home communities required by penologists of parolees. It is the normal practice of federal authorities to parole first-offenders meeting these requirements. Yet Winston and Green have been denied parole. The reason is obvious: they are still being persecuted for their political beliefs and affiliation.

The only immediate step that can now be taken on behalf of these two political prisoners is to appeal to President Eisenhower to free them by an act of executive clemency. A campaign has been launched to barrage the White House with as many letters as possible asking such amnesty for Winston and Green by Christmas, the traditional season for presidential grants of clemency.

The Smith Act was opposed by organized labor and by all civil liberties organizations when it was being rammed through Congress. It has been repeatedly condemned and deplored by them since. It is the duty and the elementary self-interest of all union militants and other defenders of civil liberties today to speak up on behalf of the actual victims of this "dangerous-thoughts" law. That means specifically coming to the aid of those under Smith Act indictment, of those being harassed and threatened by retrials and particularly of the two still behind bars.

So put Winston, Green and their families at the top of your Christmas list and send a "Christmas card" to Eisenhower on their behalf. Mail early!

Marian Anderson Rebels

Throughout most of her life when she was engaged in building the career as a concert artist to which her superb voice entitled her, Marian Anderson refrained from all comments about politics or racial discrimination.

In the post-war World the State Department found its attempts to woo popular opinion throughout the world greatly hindered by the international abomination of the racism known to exist in the U.S. For propaganda advantage, therefore, it decided to send prominent Negroes on "good will" tours—particularly to Asia—in an attempt to "disprove" the stories about American Jim Crow or at least to mitigate their effect. Accordingly Marian Anderson who, thanks solely to her own talent and efforts, and no thanks to the government, had achieved world fame, was sent on a government-sponsored world tour.

She won the hearts of millions because of her personal charm and marvelous voice, and because in her, Asians and Africans saw personified the American Negro achieving greatness despite all obstacles of prejudice, poverty and discrimination. The resounding success of her tour shone all the more in the eyes of the State Department because, when foreigners raised the subject of Jim Crow in America, she showed no inclination to pursue the subject but to drop it with a few remarks about how rapidly it was being overcome.

So this year the State Department made her a member of the U.S. delegation in the United Nations. This appointment had served two aims. First, her presence on the delegation would serve as living "refutation" of charges about racism in the U.S. Secondly, her appointment would please the Negro voters in the U.S. who justifiably want to break down the barriers to top government posts like those in the diplomatic corps.

But the State Department got more than it recokoned for in Marian Anderson. She came to resent doing the dirty work —especially against the colonial peoples of the world—that is part and parcel of U.S. policy. On Nov. 25 she rebelled. In the UN Trusteeship Committee the Asian African countries were demanding a special meeting of the General Assembly to hear long-pending demands from the British and French Cameroons for unification and independence.

The U.S. government opposes demands of the colonial slaves of "free world" powers. When open opposition is no longer possible, it pretends acquiescence with as much foot-dragging and sabotage as possible. Accordingly Miss Anderson's instructions were to vote against the proposed special session.

After casting her vote against the aspirations of the people of the two African colonies (in one of which—the French Cameroons—the imperialists have been butchering the people in droves), Miss Anderson declared that though she had followed her government's orders she personally was against those orders and for the Cameroonians. The press officials of the U.S. delegation tried to conceal this unprecedented statement by phonying up the press releases. But the truth will out—even over the ethics of John Foster Dulles and his underlings.

We, of course, don't think Miss Anderson, or any Negro, should serve on the U.S. delegation because they are put there to camouflage the ugly truth about Jim Crow in America. Similarly, we don't think George Meany should serve on the delegation because he only serves there as labor window dressing for the Big Business, anti-labor government. But we commend Marian Anderson for her outspokenness on Nov. 25. And since George Meany won't resign and do some organizing of the unorganized workers in this country, why doesn't he at least take a page from Miss Anderson's UN book and say an honest word rather than faithfully parrot the speeches Dulles has written for him.

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FBI's Files: 75 Million Under Watch

By Henry Gitano
(Second of a series)

The FBI's most powerful weapon and its major activity revolves around the compiling and filing of information, mostly defamatory and unverified, about persons against whom no crime has been charged. Most of the FBI's work is done by stoolpigeons, anonymous letter writers and filing clerks. Secret files are the raw material needed to impose thought control on the American people through blackmail, intimidation and victimization.

Kenneth Robb wrote in McCalls, May 1955: "The FBI knows a little something about a great many people — 75 million persons, or about one half the population of the U.S. . . . Size of dossiers may range from a few sheets of paper to a thickness of several feet."

The FBI was aptly spawned through a mating of deception and blackmail. Repeatedly demanded by Attorney General Charles Bonaparte, authorization was withheld by the 60th Congress in 1908. The views of Congress were summarized in the Congressional Record: "There is no desire for a general detective service . . . It is considered absolutely contradictory to the democratic principles of government."

BONAPARTE'S DECEIT

On July 1, 1908, one month after Congress adjourned, Bonaparte established his secret police. Max Lowenthal in The FBI reports: "Both houses of Congress were disturbed and directed investigations of the Federal police agencies. Newspaper articles appeared disclosing the fact that dossiers had been assembled for President Theodore Roosevelt containing information about the personal affairs of various Congressmen active in the campaign to investigate the Federal detectives."

Congressmen charged they had been shadowed and their mail rifled. Roosevelt denied this, insisting that detectives would not violate the law. "But sometimes," he added, "through the accidental breaking of such [a] package, the contents are exposed." With this explanation, he published the private correspondence of Senator Tillsman (N.C.), one of his leading opponents.

FRAME SACCO, VANZETTI

During the Palmer Raid witch-hunting hysteria, FBI dossiers compiled on two Boston militants, Sacco and Vanzetti, were instrumental in executing these heroes of labor. FBI files were used to fabricate the greatest frame-up in American history. Despite repeated efforts by defense attorneys, the files were never produced in court.

Later, FBI man Fred G. Weyand stated: "I am also thoroughly convinced and always have been, and I believe that is and always has been the opinion of such Boston agents of the Department of Justice as had any knowledge on the subject, that these men had nothing whatever to do with the South Braintree murder and that their conviction was the result of cooperation between the Boston agents of the Department of Justice and the District Attorney." Another FBI man, Lawrence Letherman, said: "It was the opinion of the Department agents here that a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder would be one way of disposing of these two men."

Edward Crankshaw notes in his book "Gestapo" that the

HOOVER

secret state police bossed by Goering in 1933 was Department 1A of the old Prussian Police. Like the FBI, 1A was an underground arm of the government, keeping its methods, personnel and records secret — becoming a law unto itself. Goering took over 1A's voluminous files, secretly compiled from secret sources on Germans active in politics; it was an apparatus made to order for fingering, and breaking those opposed to the Hitler regime.

FDR ORDERS PROBE OF 'COMMUNISTS'

In 1936, Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave the FBI a secret directive to investigate "communist activities" throughout the country, he also ordered the FBI to resume wire tapping after a Senate Committee condemned it. It was in a period of social crisis that FDR felt the need for a more powerful secret political police. "The responsibility for internal security" Hoover revealed, was "assigned the FBI in 1939 by presidential directive."

The FBI became responsible for the federal loyalty program, and the questioning of accused employes were based on FBI confidential files. Alan Barth in Harpers (March 1954) notes questions which do not even pretend to deal with force and violence. "One board member inquired if an employe favored or opposed the segregation of blood in Red Cross blood banks, the question arose, he said, out of information given to the board that she had written a letter to the Red Cross about such segregation."

The reports which came to light in the Judith Coplon case showed other criteria used by the FBI to determine "loyalty." FBI files told of "affiliation with the Progressive Party," "writing a master's thesis on the New Deal in New Zealand," "making a strong progressive speech which attacked an anti-Semitic teacher."

A loyalty board has no investigative staff, it uses FBI files. Adam Yarmolinsky in 1955 exposed the nightmarish security tests, rummaging for the seeds of heresy. Some hearings accomplish their diabolical aims: "Since my earlier suspension, I have tried to keep my mouth shut on political questions . . . it would be folly to deny that I had learned that silence is golden." Case 67.

USES CONGRESS BODIES

Where the FBI cannot use a "loyalty screening" or a courtroom, it establishes liaison with other witch-hunters. Senator Pat McCarran, an investigator of the McCarthy ilk, declared on the Senate floor, March 25, 1953: "I have had dozens of them [FBI secret files] in my possession and have taken them home and used them for Sunday reading." Senator Mundt, a ferocious red-baiter said (Salt Lake Tribune, Nov. 22, 1953): "The FBI may compile much evidence on Communist infiltration, but not enough to justify indictments. Often in such cases, said the Senator, the FBI will tip off a Congressional Committee (which) makes it possible to bring the case into the open."

Professor Robert K. Carr in his authoritative work "The House Committee on Un-American activities 1945-1950" concludes that "it is quite apparent that these hearings were designed to serve the purpose of publicizing information in FBI files." During the Army-McCarthy hearings, McCarthy flourished a letter out of the FBI's secret coffers, and his chief counsel blustered: "I have access to FBI files when I want them."

These committee inquisitions which publicize secret, unverified slander and gossip from FBI files, also act as a transmission belt for still other parasitic organizations like the American Security Council in Chicago, organized in 1955, which maintains a massive file of one million names. This private agency with a $100,000 yearly budget supplies employers with information on alleged "subversives." It is used by some of the nation's largest firms to check prospective employes. The files are culled from Congressional and legislative hearings. **"Interest for or against the free enterprise system — that's the thing that starts our interest," the president of ASC, John M. Fisher, an ex-FBI man attached to the N.Y. office for Communist Investigations, said,**

No Friends to Labor's Ranks

Adlai Stevenson (left) and Harry Truman are ranking leaders of liberal Democrats. Both belong to Democratic Party's National Advisory Council which on Dec. 8, in its program for Congress, again criticized Eisenhower Administration for too low military budget. The Council made no recommendation for higher unemployment pay.

. . . Which Side in Unions?

(Continued from Page 1)

militant struggles for labor's demands, to organize the unorganized and to express the real sentiment of the union membership, it has also become completely intertwined with the political machinery of capitalism, the government apparatus, the State Department, the FBI, and the two capitalist parties—particularly the Democratic Party.

When we talk of not becoming isolated from the labor movement we must specify what part of the labor movement—the workers or the bureaucracy? When socialists launch election campaigns, they do not become isolated from the labor movement, unless one is speaking of becoming victimized by the labor officials. It is true that socialists in a given union local can suffer dismissal and expulsion if they dare to oppose the policy of the bureaucracy on political questions as well as union matters. Socialist unionists are therefore compelled to exercise cauton and not make it easy for the bureaucrats to get rid of them.

But is this a reason for the socialist in a union to abandon his views? Or, more pertinently, is this a reason why a socialist party should fail to say in the open electoral arena what the persecuted socialist in the shop cannot say for fear of landing on the blacklist?

THEY PIN HOPES ON BUREAUCRACY

Actually, it is not a question of adapting to the needs of the beleaguered radical in the labor movement. The blunt truth, and nothing is to be gained by mincing words about this, is that both the Communist Party leaders and the Social Democrats are pinning their political hopes not on the present and future insurgents in the labor movement. They are on the contrary aiming at once again becoming a respectable and accepted part of the labor bureaucracy and being allowed some living room within its fold.

A class struggle socialist perspective begins with this sharp distinction between the working class and the bureaucracy. It does not overlook the fact that contradictions within the bureaucracy are bound to appear and that sections of the bureaucracy may be forced in to a more progressive position. These contradictions and fissures will be utilized by socialists to advance the movement for a labor party and for building a left wing in the unions. **But the strategic outlook flows from the basic reality of the American labor movement: the irreconcilable conflict between the bureaucratic machine, tied up with the capitalist government and the capitalist parties, and the rank and file militants. The latter must prepare for a complete overhauling of the union structure, the introduction of democracy and the replacement of the present class collaborationist leaders and policies with the policies and leadership of the left wing.**

M' LORD AND LADIES

Commenting on her impressions of the House of Lords, the Dowager Duchess of Reading, one of the first four women to sit in the upper chamber of the British Parliament, said, "The House of Lords is a delicious place to be in. People move so slowly. Nobody runs down passages, nobody uses used envelopes; nobody does anything for himself if he can find a gentleman with a gold chain to do it for him." There is a move afoot to abolish this hereditary legislative body.

How Worker Reported Cleveland Conference

By Harry Ring

After reading the account in the Dec. 7 Worker of the Conference of American Socialists held in Cleveland Nov. 28-30, those who were there could easily get the impression they attended a different meeting. Among other things, the report deliberately tries to give the impression that there was strong support at the conference — particularly among the unionists present—for the Communist Party policy of working in the Democratic Party.

In fact, according to the Worker, opposition of the unionists to a united socialist presidential ticket in 1960 was so strong that "the Trotskyists and others" had to abandon plans for a vote on the issue. Actually the conference was convened with the clear understanding that its sole purpose would be an exchange of views and experiences. The discussion showed that the great majority present favored united socialist opposition to the Republicans and Democrats.

Reporting the conference for this paper, I took extensive notes on the entire two-day discussion. A check of these notes show that apart from the panelists, 24 speakers addressed themselves specifically to the issue of working in the Democratic Party. Six of these, including three unionists, spoke in support of the CP "coalition" line, four took a middle position and 14 argued against socialists trying to work in the Democratic party.

WHAT TUSSEY REALLY SAID

Here is one example of how the Worker manipulated facts to convey the impression of significant support for its line. After reporting the speech of CP spokesman Arnold Johnson, the Worker says, "'You can't build any mass movement without labor,' Richard Tussey, of the Mechanics Educational Society of Ohio, said."

But the stand of this union leader was in flat opposition to Johnson's. Tussey described the campaign of Ohio labor against the "right-to-work" proposition, which was completely independent of the Democratic party. His central point was that this campaign proved that labor's ranks could be more effectively mobilized for political action **outside** the Democratic party than within. He reported current activity by Ohio unionists to crystallize rank-and-file support for the building of a labor party.

The Worker did report a few facts correctly. Given their full context — which the Worker carefully avoided — these facts explode charges made by that **paper during the New York Independent-Socialist campaign. Throughout that campaign the Worker repeated its smear charge that the Socialist Workers Party is "anti-Soviet" and asserted that John T. McManus of the National Guardian and others who collaborated with the SWP in the united campaign belonged by that fact in the "anti-Soviet" camp or were on the way to it.**

How does this "anti-Soviet" charge square with the Worker's own reporting from Cleveland? Many supporters of the National Guardian and of the SWP were active participants at the conference. Yet the Worker reports: "An unprincipled and pro-Dulles attack on the Soviet Union by a Socialist Party observer received applause from only one person. Both Communists and non-Communists assailed the attack." It adds that the conference was scored by the SP-SDF "for its refusal to take a hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union . . ." Obviously, if there were any truth to the Worker's charges against the Guardian and SWP, the anti-Soviet stand of the SP-SDF would not have been so thoroughly isolated.

A DISCREPANCY

Another fact is presented by the Worker in carefully selective fashion — namely that "the greatest unanimity was achieved on the peace question. East-West trade was urged." The same conference report in the Dec. 6 People's World (unsigned in the Worker, credited to Sam Kushner in People's World) reads as follows: "The greatest unanimity was achieved on the peace issue. In this panel many speakers, including the representative of the Socialist Workers party, stressed the peace role of the Soviet Union. East-West trade was underscored as a method of helping to achieve peace." Obviously the Worker editors felt that to give Kushner's account in full would not have bolstered its accusation that the SWP is "anti-Soviet."

Furthermore, it was the SWP spokesman who urged a united socialist campaign for East-West trade to combat both recession and the U.S.-initiated cold war.

These distortions and omissions reflect the impossible situation of the CP leaders. The simple fact is that the conference showed that the "coalition" line is now thoroughly discredited among the great bulk of socialist opponents of the cold war. The conference also showed that there are very few socialists left who are ready to buy the proposition that opposition to the policies of Khrushchev or of the American CP is automatically equivalent to being "pro-Dulles."

It was clear at Cleveland that while united socialist political action is not yet the mainstream of thought in the union movement it is the mainstream of the radical movement. The big question confronting the members of the Communist Party is if they are going to permit their leaders to isolate them from it.

HARD SELL NEEDED

Charles H. Brower, president of BBD&O, major U.S. advertising agency has suggested the appointment of a new Cabinet member to sell America to the world. The reason we have trouble selling the American way of life, he said, is that "We have no advertising manager, no sales manager, no director of public relations."

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Buffalo	**1,500**	**1,515**	**101**
Boston	**450**	**450**	**100**
Chicago	**1,000**	**1,000**	**100**
Connecticut	**300**	**300**	**100**
Denver	**50**	**50**	**100**
San Francisco	**440**	**440**	**100**
South	**200**	**200**	**100**
Allentown	112	101	90
Youngstown	300	250	83
New York	4,500	3,684	82
Newark	265	214	81
Milwaukee	250	197	79
San Diego	300	235	78
Twin Cities	1,742	1,356	78
Detroit	600	445	74
Los Angeles	4,600	3,348	73
Pittsburgh	10	7	70
Seattle	550	385	70
Cleveland	750	520	69
Philadelphia	528	337	64
General	—	294	—
Total through Dec. 9	$18,867	$15,891	88

THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

A Plan for New York City Fathers

On Dec. 1 the New York City Deputy Commissioner of Buildings and other officials went on a slumming party accompanied by a large contingent of reporters. They tsk-ed tsk-ed at the wretched housing conditions which they saw in Harlem, and their words were duly recorded in the press. It was a great display calculated to show the citizenry how liberal Mayor Wagner's administration is and how it really "wants" to do something for the miserably-housed working people — particularly the Negroes and Puerto Ricans, the most victimized in N.Y. housing, whose votes have become more pivotal and important. But the expedition boomeranged. First, because the Negro people are getting on to these phony expeditions and secondly because the Deputy Housing Commissioner's failure to do something about a violation which she and all the reporters saw in one building — a grossly defective elevator — caused the death five days later of a 14-year-old boy.

Here are some excerpts from an article by James Hicks of the N.Y. Amsterdam News, written before the boy's death.

"We're not impressed. We've seen this type of song and dance act too many times in Harlem — especially when an election year is just around the corner.

"If the city fathers really want to impress us as to their sincerity in cleaning up the slums, we have a plan for them.

"And that plan simply calls for the enforcement of a law that is already on the books. All they have to do is to enforce that law on about three or four landlords and all the others will clean up their slum areas virtually overnight.

"The law to which we are referring is Chapter 26, Section 205.0 subdivisions (a) and (e) of the Administrative Code of the City of New York.

"This law which to our knowledge has never been used, authorizes the Corporation Council of the City of New York, 'at the request of the Superintendent of Buildings' to apply to the Supreme Court for an order directing the Superintendent of Buildings to make alterations in any building which is in violation of the Housing Law.

"It further provides that once the city moves in and corrects the violation it can then reimburse itself for the work it has done on the building by attaching a mechanics lien on the landlord's property until he pays the city exactly what it cost the city to fix up the building. . . .

"You can just imagine what would happen to a Harlem absentee landlord if he got a telegram while sunning in Florida that the city had decided to alter and renovate his slum apartment houses and he would get the bill for the job as soon as it was completed!

"Every other Harlem landlord would jump right up and hire his own contractor as soon as the news got around. And the violations would disappear.

"But the city officials won't do that. They either are too closely linked with the landlords—or they just don't have the guts to enforce the law."

Art Exhibit By Capt. Mulzac

Captain Hugh N. Mulzac, 1958 Independent - Socialist candidate for New York Comptroller, who has been gaining increasing recognition as a painter, is holding an exhibit and sale of his works through Dec. 20. Thirty-seven of his oils and water colors are listed for sale. The exhibit is open daily from 2 to 9 P.M. at 106-61 Ruscoe St., Jamaica, N.Y. To get there from New York by subway take E or F train to 169th St., then Q-42 bus to 106th Ave. By car, take 59th St. bridge, Queens Blvd., Jamaica Ave., and 177th St. to 106th Ave.

...Group for Labor Party

(Continued from Page 1)

cratic candidate, only objected to R-T-W 'in its present form' and disclaimed accepting any monetary support from labor.

"The voting statistics show that a great number of Ohioans rejected both candidates but did vote NO on R-T-W . . . From this one can conclude that there is a reservoir from which labor, running its own independent candidates, would receive support. And we should not overlook the fact that many people voted Democratic on the old 'lesser of two evils' theory.

"Out of the R-T-W experience came the idea of a Labor Representation Committee to work for and support independent labor candidates for office wherever feasible and to build an independent Labor Party.

"It is our hope that this idea grows and takes hold since the MESA has for years been pointing out that the workers can only achieve real and lasting results by having their own candidates and their own political party. We still hold to this position."

Calendar Of Events

LOS ANGELES

Fri., Dec. 19, 8:15 P.M. "The Role of the United Nations in the World Today." Speaker: Theodore Edwards, Marxist Writer and Lecturer. Questions and Discussion. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St., Ausp.: International Socialist Review.

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CHICAGO

Fri., Dec. 19, 8 P.M. Arne Swabeck speaks on "Labor After the Democratic Landslide." Militant Labor Forum. 777 W. Adams.

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Ring in the New Year at our gala New Year's Mardi Gras! Live entertainment—dancing—refreshments—gaiety supreme—at the Militant Labor Forum Hall, 777 West Adams Street. From 9 P.M. until ??? Phone DE 2-9763.

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DETROIT

New Year's Eve Party, Wed., Dec. 31, 9 P.M. Donation $1 per person. Door prizes, refreshments, favors, entertainment. 3737 Woodward. Ausp.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

New York Bazaar

There will be an unusually wide selection of gift items at low prices at the Annual Christmas Bazaar to be held Saturday, Dec. 13, from noon on, at 116 University Place, New York.

A partial selection includes: hand made leather belts, jewelry, rope beads, Virgin Island straw baskets, children's toys and books, women's and children's clothes, hand made aprons, hats, steam irons, waffle irons, radios and other appliances, books, cosmetics, perfumes, ceramics, men's clothing and a special "thrift department."

"I want an informer who is brave, loyal, fearless, nerves of steel — and able to stomach my factory conditions."

Notes from the News

PENNSYLVANIA has been one of the hardest hit states in the recession. About 10% of the working force are out of work despite the diversity of the state's industry. Last month 175,646 unemployed workers had exhausted their thirty weeks state insurance and of these 29,065 had also used up their fifteen weeks Federal unemployment compensation.

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PROFESSOR ALEX INKELES, a Harvard sociologist, told a group of students that the amount of laughing you do in a day is an indication of your social status. He said that, "contrary to popular belief the lower you are in social status the less likely you are to report having laughed during the past day." He also added that women in the low income group are more likely to report having cried during the day.

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AN INVESTIGATION into the effects on the residents of Donora, Penn., of the 1948 smog which killed 20 people and made half the population of 12,300 sick showed that those who became ill at the time have since had a higher death rate and are more susceptible to disease. The death rate from arteriosclerotic heart disease has been found to be twice as high among the males affected by the smog. Right after the catastrophe, Philip Sadtler, a consultant chemist, issued a report that hydrofluoric acid, coming from the Donora Zinc Works' smokestacks was contaminating the air over Donora.

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A COURSE IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE is being given on television in Cleveland by Western Reserve University. The response has been so great that 1,900 study guides were sold at $3.00 a copy and four editions were put out before the university officials were forced to stop printing because the course had advanced too far.

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"THE AMERICAN PEOPLE by the astonishing proportion of five to one," consider discrimination, "more critical than Sputnik and by two to one as more important than the state of the domestic economy," said Dr. Frank Stanton, president of the Columbia Broadcasting System. The American people are worried about their contribution to the "epidemic of suspicion, hatred and intolerance that inflicts the world." He based his remarks on a survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

Ohio High Court Rules Against Payment of SUB

By Ed Dawson

YOUNGSTOWN—On Dec. 3, the Ohio Supreme Court struck a blow at the unemployed workers and the organized labor movement of this state by ruling Supplementary Unemployment payments illegal. This ruling, coming on the heels of the labor movement's victory on the "right to work law," represents a renewed challenge to labor's rights and must be countered with a mobilization of the Ohio labor movement, even greater than on the "right-to-work" law.

The court ruling was hailed by the just-defeated Republican Governor and by the Ohio Information Committee, the employers' coordinating body for state-wide union busting. The newly-elected Democrats took no issue with the court ruling but promised to sponsor legislation to legalize SUB.

Would such legislation, even should it eventually become law, guarantee the payment of the accumulated backlog of SUB payments? At stake is more than $25 million that the union contract would have placed in the pockets of the unemployed workers in the state by now. Also, the Democratic promise of legislation is no guarantee of an end to employer trickery on this matter. Already the OIC has hinted broadly that it will counter any legislative move with a referendum demand. This would once more postpone the decision of the issue. Only quick, decisive and militant mobilization of the strength of the labor movement could counter this strategy. If enough strength is brought to bear on the legislature, emergency legislation to block the referendum strategy of the OIC could be pushed through.

CONTRACT VIOLATION

The steel, auto, rubber and electrical companies that have SUB agreements welcome the opportunity to violate their union pacts. By withholding these benefits from the unemployed, by flaunting the union contract successfully, they hope to weaken the confidence of the unemployed worker in his union.

As for the union officials, they expressed disappointment at the court ruling and announced that they would insist on legislation that would legalize SUB.

In the meantime, jobless workers are being told to wait for their money. Tens of thousands in the state are eligible and should have received these payments. After a year of waiting many are asking why the unions can't enforce their contracts in Ohio? Aren't they powerful enough to make the companies live up to the agreement?

REJECTED CLAIMS

When workers first applied for SUB as provided under the contract, the State Unemployment Compensation Commissioner ruled that SUB payments were considered the same as wages and that SUB payments would make workers ineligible for unemployment compensation. The unions rejected this interpretation of the law. A test case supported by the steel workers union was taken to the courts in an attempt to reverse the Commissioner's ruling.

With the case in court, the labor movement exerted no pressure to get a favorable ruling. Militant workers proposed organization of a mass lobby to put pressures on the enemies of SUB, which included the Governor. But the labor bureaucrats would have none of that. They claimed that they did not want demonstrations that might disturb the courts. The undisturbed courts ruled against labor. The methods of the officialdom have reaped a big zero up until now.

The enormous potential strength of labor in Ohio was demonstrated in the "right to work" fight. The workers now need to organize a mass lobby to gather at the state capital in Columbus on the opening day of the new Legislature to demand immediate emergency legislation to legalize SUB payments and to guarantee retroactivity.

Final Vote Of ISP

The final official vote for the New York Independent-Socialist Party in the Nov. 4 elections is as follows: John T. McManus and Dr. Annette Rubinstein, candidates for governor and lieutenant-governor, 31, 658 votes; Captain Hugh Mulzac, 34,038 for Comptroller; Scott Gray Jr., for Attorney-General, 31,746 votes; Corliss Lamont, for U.S. Senator, 49,087.

Play About Joe Hill Is Timely Production

By Douglas Richard

"The Man Who Never Died" is a play about Joe Hill, IWW organizer and composer of some of labor's most famous fighting songs. Joe Hill was tried on a trumped-up charge of murder in Utah and executed on Nov. 19, 1915. His songs ring out again in Barry Stavis' play now in New York City at the Jan Hus Auditorium.

Every trade-unionist, socialist, and fighter for civil liberties in the New York area should see the play and get others to see it too. Then I believe it should be toured throughout the country. It is not only a fine dramatic production but a searing exposure of the structure of "judicial murder"—a phrase used by Joe Hill's attorney. ("Frame-up" is the more familiar term.) As such it has valuable lessons for the defense of labor, the struggle for socialism and the cause of civil liberties.

"The Man Who Never Died" also re-enacts a vital part of American labor history, although on this score, the conflict in the play would have been sharpened and the characters taken on greater dimension had the program of the IWW been more clearly explained. Joe Hill and his comrades were not only seeking better working conditions. They were motivated by the vision of a new society.

REPUBLIC OF LABOR WAS THEIR GOAL

The founding convention of the IWW declared: "This is the Continental Congress of the working class. We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working class movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capitalism." **The goal was the establishment of the socialist order in a republic of labor based on industry-wide unions amalgamated into one, all-inclusive union.**

That's what Joe Hill believed in and what he gave expression to in many of his songs. He was "judicially murdered" not just for his activities on behalf of higher wages but for his broader ideals as well.

Stavis' play has been warmly received by various spokesmen for organized labor and praised in the paper of the District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (AFL-CIO), the city's largest union. A few critics in the capitalist press have also praised it. But for the most part, the professional drama critics wore social blinders with respect to the parallels in our present society to be drawn from the play's subject matter.

IS IT OUTMODED?

Thus Brooks Atkinson, the most influential of New York drama critics, wrote in the Nov. 22 N.Y. Times: "It ['The Man Who Never Died'] repeats all the stencils — labor solidarity, milk for the children, down with the bosses, police brutality, vicious judges and strike, strike, strike. What Mr. Stavis has to record about the political world of 1914 and 1915 is no doubt frightful enough but the form and temper of his play seem naive and maudlin in the world of Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa."

Union organizers wholeheartedly devoted, like Joe Hill, to the cause of the working people are not outmoded, as Mr. Atkinson implies. Despite the Becks and the Hoffas, there are many Joe Hills in labor's ranks today. They will assert themselves in time to come and replace the labor fakers in the leadership of the American labor movement. Nor are "vicious judges" a thing of the past. One has only to examine the laws and trials of recent years to refute that contention. Indeed, even a Dave Beck and a James Hoffa can be framed in the capitalist-class dominated courts.

Big Business may be less open in its manipulation of various government agencies, including the courts, than were the copper interests in the frame-up of Joe Hill. However, the laws protect private property in the means of production just as much today as they did then. The present law courts, with their politically-designated judges and prosecuting attorneys uphold it just as effectively.

In another play about a "judicial murder" — Maxwell Anderson's "Winterset," which drew its theme from the Sacco-Vanzetti case—Mio, the son of the executed man, says to the judge, "I've told you I've read the trial from beginning to end. Every word you spoke was balanced carefully to keep the letter of the law and still convict, convict by Christ if it tore the seven veils!" And at one point in "The Man Who Never Died," Joe Hill's attorney points out that a legal trial and a fair trial are not the same thing.

ROSENBERG CASE

A whole series of laws and trials in recent years—from the Rosenberg-Sobell "spy" case to the judicial freeing of the murderers of Emmett Till—testify to the truth of that distinction. Commenting on the Rosenberg-Sobell conviction, Lewis S. Feuer, wrote in Ethical Outlook, that "the extremes of justification to which Judge Kaufman, President Eisenhower and Attorney Saypol went, which far exceed the proper scope of evidence, indicate that perhaps ideological hatred and vengefulness were substituted for judicial appraisal."

One has only to study the record of recent instances of judicial persecution to see how closely their frame-up technique resembles that so devastatingly exposed in "The Man Who Never Died." Stavis' play is thus a very timely production.

NO PROTECTION AGAINST CLAIM JUMPERS

So many people have written to Washington to register their personal claim to territory on the moon that the Department of the Interior has prepared a form letter pointing out that ". . . there are no specific provisions of national or international law covering outer space."

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